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TO BUILD A NATION: A HANDBOOK OF INGREDIENTS

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TO BUILD A NATION: A HANDBOOK OF INGREDIENTS

A MONOGRAPH

by

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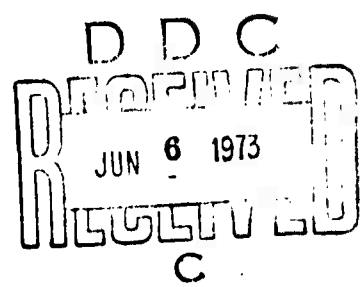

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ABSTRACT

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This monograph identifies and examines some of the complexities of the process of nation-building. The forces and agents of change which interrelate as nations attempt to move from a traditional to a modern society are presented and discussed. The conclusion reached, which is based on personal judgment, is that for the developer of developing nations and for the student of development there are at least two prerequisites. First, a requirement to be aware of the multitude of variables which can affect the process of nation-building. Secondly, a requirement to understand and be able to exercise that degree of management of the interactions of these variables which will enable completion of the optimum national structure.

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INTRODUCTION

"NATIONALISM SWEEPS NEW GUINEA AS IT SEVERS COLONIAL TIES"

* * * * * * * * * * * *

On September 14th of this year this headline appeared in the Harrisburg Patriot with the following editor's note preceding the article:

> At the last Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh [Scotland] Papua-New Guinea was the only competitor to march behind a colonial flag. It still has no anthem, but it now has a flag. And on National Day Monday 2,500,000 Niuginians are marching, chanting, and dancing behind it--their first step as a united people towards self-government.[1]

Are they united? Is this their first step and, if so, how many more must they take? What is this thing termed nationalism which is sweeping not only New Guinea but also many other parts of Asia, Africa, and South America?

Reading further in the article there is mention of localization, seven hundred languages spoken, sorcery, tribes, eighteen hundred schools and colleges, exploitation, local party, extremists, custom, anti-white feeling, a relatively strong army, baton-happy police, a coup, and a leader with a gifted hand guiding his people toward nationhood. Are these the forces and factors of cohesion? Is this a word picture of a united people marching toward self-government--toward nationhood? In the task of developing nations what are the pitfalls? Where and how does the

process start? How do you proceed? What is nation-building? What building materials are available? Is there a blueprint? Is there a model?

The process of nation-building is not necessarily simple, orderly, scientific, or sequential. It is also not easily described. Successful or unsuccessful it is the terminal result of actions between, interactions among, reactions to, and counter-actions against a myriad of existing forces and factors.

Research into the subject of nation-building is a challenge. Historians, economists, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, and other writers have been profound in their analyses and prolific in their offerings. The challenge for the apprentice seeking a general understanding of the process awesomely begins in the middle of semantic darkness and confusion. For example:

> Underdeveloped has been used almost interchangeably with undeveloped, although listings of each type would have both similarities and differences. An undeveloped area may be underdeveloped and then again it may offer little in the way of development possibilities, its undeveloped condition being due to a lack of natural or human resources. An underdeveloped area may be relatively developed but capable of further development.
>
> Although one might expect the concept of underdeveloped areas to refer to the existing level of development in relation to the human and natural resources available this has not always been the practice. Underdevelopment seems. . . . An area may be developed . . . but remain underdeveloped. . . .[2]

Or:

> Instead of the hoped-for cooperation between the newly independent states and the West. . . . The two major problems of the emerging nations. . . .

> In the new states of Afro-Asia, where the governments . . . in the nation building crusade.
>
> The chapters that follow analyze some of the problems . . . in the new nations. . . . Chapter II considers . . . the developing countries.[3]

From this beginning lack of basic agreement upon whether what is being considered in economic, social, political, historic, military, or a combination of disciplinal terms should be called a developing, undeveloped, underdeveloped, emerging, new or newly independent nation--or even a nation--the study proceeds.

It culminates in this paper which attempts to clear away some of the "semantic jungle," to describe the process of nation-building by any other name, to at least enumerate many of the ingredients which are the foundation, building blocks, tools, or bonding materials used in the process and to describe some of the inherent hazards of construction. This is not a detailed specification drawing for the builder, none exists. The student should, however, find this handbook and particularly its abridged builder's dictionary extremely useful as a tool when either an overview of the total results of the efforts of the nation-building industry or a close inspection of the product of a single builder is desirable.

BY ANY OTHER NAME

In the interest of consistency, this author will use the term nation-building to represent the evolutionary and sometimes revolutionary process which in varying stages is in progress throughout the world today. To represent in general terms, the personification of the initiators, manipulators, and recipients of the process products the words developing nation(s) will apply.

Some of the undergrowth shrouding the concept of nation-building can be burned away if it is recognized that basically the peoples of developing nations seek to reach two powerful, interdependent, distinct, and sometimes conflicting goals. They seek identity, equality, and social esteem in the modern world. They also seek progress in an economic, social, and political sense of the word. The apparent desire to satisfy the identity and social esteem need is particularly interesting if viewed in relation to Maslow's heirarchy of needs and in light of the fact that for many of the developing nations both physiological and security needs remain unsatisfied. Nonetheless, these two goals, identity and progress or modernization, seem to be the major driving forces.

Barbara Ward refers to our living in a revolutionary age and describes two of these revolutionary forces as follows:

> We know that men's passionate desire to see themselves as the equals of other human beings without distinction of class or sex or race or nationhood is one of the driving forces of our day. And I believe it is a tap root of modern nationalism. . . . For this reason, nationalism today comes to us in great measure in the form of equality--the equality of nations one with each other, the equality of esteem and prestige which comes from not being run by other nations. . . .
>
> The second revolution also concerns ideas: the idea of progress, of the possibility of material change leading to a better world. . . . Undoubtedly today the main drives behind the idea of nationhood, especially in the emergent territories, are equality and material progress.[4]

The delicate balance necessary to build a complete nation, structurally sound, evolves around searching for, finding and blending elements of world culture; technology, attitudes, and knowledge, with the local, special and distinctive heritage of the traditional society.

This is not an easy task for the nation-builder. He is faced with the awesome problem of organizing and guiding the forces and agents of change toward the goals of nationhood. For every nation and nation-builder the problem is different and must be approached <u>from the foundation</u>.

FROM THE FOUNDATION

Many of the developing nations today exist as a result of decolonization and the termination of Western imperialism. Some of these nations inherited from colonialism a legacy of problems

which they must overcome if the transition from traditional to modern society is to be achieved. This is not to say that colonialism served no positive purpose. There is, however, some question as to whether some colonial powers completely fulfilled the assumed "obligations" of colonialism.

The colonial administration rarely left developing nations an inheritance adequate for self-government. In some cases this could be attributed to the relatively short period of time during which the tutelage took place but generally it was not the time available but the gaps in preparation which could be faulted. Even where the intent of the colonists was dutiful and responsible, pressures from colonialists at home to drain the last vestiges of the economic and political benefits of imperialism overcame good intentions.

There was a minimal degree of nativization of the responsible positions of government resulting in a post-independence paucity of experienced officials at top levels. Where this condition was coupled with the rapid and complete departure of the colonial administrators before additional nationals had been trained to hold the reins of government, serious problems arose.

A second manifestation of colonialism resulted from the feeling of some colonial administrations that their task was paternalistic as it applied to the native population. Thus, thinking that they knew best what was good for the people, there was little self-reliance fostered.

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The use of minority or privileged groups in the few government posts available to the indigenous population, failure or unwillingness to adopt or establish a common language for communication and the practice of mother-country rule potentially added to post-independence conflicts and complications.

And, finally, many of the newly independent developing nations lack a sound financial superstructure because colonial powers in their eagerness to derive economic benefits from their colonies and perhaps incidentally raise living standards developed primary-product economies. These nations then find themselves initially dependent for financial backing on the vagaries of international demand and prices for such products as coffee, sugar, cocoa, peanuts, rice, and spices.

No matter what those political optimists who visualized the replacement of colonialism by free democracies hoped, the dream is far from realization. There has arisen, rather, a dominant trend toward charismatic, one-party or military junta political leadership in most former colonies. The two major problems of the developing nations in their emergence from colonialism have been the maintenance of stable government and the creation of a unified state.

Colonel John B. McKinney in an article written for Military Review in September 1970 sees a five step independence pattern developing as--

> . . . the leaders of the new states plot their courses through the shoals and reefs of nation-building. . . . The five steps are:
>
> 1. Independence and the establishment of a Western-style governmental structure.
>
> 2. Popular disillusionment, and political and social disintegration.
>
> 3. Overthrow or major modification of government structure.
>
> 4. Reunification under a non-Western educated leader or one with only limited ties with the West.
>
> 5. Adoption of a new form of government usually uniparty, that more closely meets popular needs and conceptions.[5]

He agrees that this pattern is not an exacting blueprint into which each developing nation can fit itself. Analysis and experience does reveal, however, that the stages do evolve. It must also be observed that regression is possible and that many nations reach step five only to return to step two or three and have to modify the process.

There has been a marked increase in the number of nations which have sought development since the end of World War II. Among these "seekers" there appear to be certain characteristics which could be called typical. Briefly, a few of these frequently mentioned in descriptive literature are:

POVERTY

POOR HEALTH

ILLITERACY

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

CORRUPTION

SHORTAGE OF TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL SKILLS

PRIMITIVE TECHNOLOGY

INADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

INADEQUATE OR BARELY ADEQUATE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The characteristics of the base from which building proceeds can be enumerated in laundry list fashion ad infinitum but for no purpose other than to demonstrate multiplicity, variety, and potential complexity. It is important to be cognizant only that the nation-builder, from a foundation, through some evolutionary process and from available materials seeks to mold the necessary building blocks.

THE BUILDING BLOCKS

Any definition of development and there are many, can be broken down into substructures or conditions which must be used or satisfied in the nation-building process. A simple compendium of the factors, while it says little or nothing about their relative importance, does reveal rather graphically the potential complexity for the builder who must choose from among these various possibilities those segments of the building process which he or they must emphasize.

The building code for a national structure requires:

1. Agreement on the basic social and political goals and willingness to engage in goal-directed behavior.

2. Removal of the barriers to communication between the leaders and the people.

3. Improvement of the process and availability of education to such an extent that high literacy rates and existence of a substantial core of educated technicians is fostered.

4. Establishment of political institutions which function for the benefit of the entire nation and provide for the possibility of widespread competitive participation and entry.

5. Integration of minority elements of pluralistic societies into the national identity without regard to the ethnic, linguistic, tribal, or religious divisions which preexisted.

6. Maintenance of a degree of security from external and internal threat which is sufficient to permit the government to carry out essential programs.

7. Development of economic institutions which can foster and achieve increased productivity of a broader base of the products and commodities necessary to expand the economy from a bare subsistence to a modern market status.

8. Creation of an elite consisting of innovators willing to face the hardships of change and the risks of modernization in their attempts to guide their nations.

9. Organization of their institutions so that there results a collective savings (in an economic sense) which can be invested in development.[6]

In short, attention to the social, political, economic, and military forces and factors which are the materials of nation-building.

MATERIALS

For the developing nations there is a marked interrelatedness between technical and economic changes and changes in attitudes toward life, social structure and political organization. Which changes come first can be demonstrated by single country study, however, for the purpose of this paper it is immaterial. What is important is that there is change, that it is interrelated and that for strength and durability, like for cement and mortar, the proportional mix is important, must be complete, but can be varied depending upon the quality and quantity of ingredients availabe.

The framework of the structure in which the nation is to be ultimately housed rises from and is shaped by its four major components: economic (eaves), social (studding), political (paneling), and military (mortar).

ECONOMIC EAVES

Many of the developing nations, particularly those that are emerging from colonial tutelage, find themselves with so-called primary product economies. In other words, they export such products as copper, bauxite, diamonds, coffee, rice, and rubber.

This is a developed economy to be sure but only in the sense that it produced what the mother country needed from it. Thus if you are the potential nation-builder you face an immediate and real problem of diversification. The questions of how to find other markets, how to find other products to produce for them and how to trade your exports for a wider range of imported necessities and/or luxury items become the pressing ones.

It is generally agreed that the urgency of economic development is pervasive in developing nations. There is likewise general agreement that technological change is a prerequisite for economic improvement. The problem is to determine those technologies which will most effectively utilize the resources available and achieve the growth targets which are set. Technological change finds opposition in developing nations from the strong forces of tradition which seek to prevent consequent social change.

To find technology suited to the distinctive conditions of a specific developing nation requires two searches. The first search is among known technologies, the second for new technical methods designed for the often unique conditions and goals of the nation.

This is the task for the nation-builder and it, too, is not easy. In most cases the technologies in being and available from advanced countries are not directly transferable.

In most developing nations the desire for rapid, if symbolic, development status supplants economic reason and the salient facts. This rush to attain instant development is the most serious mistake in their intense efforts to move rapidly through centuries of change and into the twentieth century. There are some interrelated, yet critical political, economic, and social processes which must be completed first or certainly concurrently. As a good example, agriculture may be a better starting point than the building of nuclear power facilities in economic development. This is particularly true when agriculture, food production specifically, is not only required for improved nutrition, and to feed burgeoning populations but also where agricultural products in general are prime exports and sole producers of revenue. In this case agriculture must be improved in order to obtain the money to buy the tools and equipment required to industrialize. Crop diversification, increased yields per acre, improved marketing techniques, more and better fertilizers, rural to market roads and agricultural research should have been the cornerstone of and take-off point for development. The problems then is to set internal (and external aid request) priorities on the most important economic activities which will result in the greatest development gains economically as well as socially, politically, and technically.

Economic factors of change and progress are often arbitrarily espoused by some nation-builders and many theoreticians as being the real indicators and foundations of development. This is not only doubtful but also dangerously naive. The nation-builder must be equally concerned with the non-economic factors that condition economic development, such as the social structure of studding.

SOCIAL STUDDING

That social disintegration and social reform issues are among the most persistent, explosive, and difficult tasks facing the new nation-builder can be demonstrated. Colonialism took a very shortsighted and mercenary view of the resources in its colonies and short-changed the most valuable of these--the people.

People, the masses, are not as concerned with improved political status and the expansion of a national economic structure as they are with attaining a better standard of living. So long as they have unfulfilled basic needs, suffer indignities (real or perceived), are in poor health and lack education they will continue to ignore the less mundane other-world fineries of nation-building.

Among their basic and prevalent "daily" social needs are:

1. Education to include reading, writing, and arithmetic and, as well, agricultural training, technical, and scientific education and on-the-job training.

2. Land reform to break up the holding of the very few rich aristocracy and foreign landholders--to eliminate feudalism.

3. Urban development.

4. Improvement of health, hygiene, and sanitation.

5. Improvement of transportation systems.

6. Improvement of communications.

To satisfy these needs the nation-builder must be aware not only of their being, but also of the degree of pervasiveness. He must recognize the social heterogeniety of the traditional base of the population which often is rooted in tribalism or the family.

In every society, advanced or developing, the social webbing of personal relationships consists of social attitudes toward family, friends, the opposite sex, the "tribe", kinsman, and the nation. Different societies possess different patterns and it is sheer stupidity (sometimes evident) to attempt to portray family relationships and social attitudes for <u>all</u> instead of for <u>each</u> developing nation. Some general observations can, however, be made which will provide the nation-builder with possible clues. For example, Robin Hallett in his book says about the extended family in West Africa:

> In most advanced countries the family has shrunk to a small unit made up of a man, his wife, and their children. In most West African countries, by contrast, the family is regarded as a much larger unit. . . . In an extended family the individual finds himself obliged to conform to a wide range of social obligations. The extended family

> has much to recommend it. It gives . . . intense sociability . . . frequent celebrations . . . regular rounds of visits. . . . On the other hand, in a developing country the extended family can become a hindrance to progress.[7]

The aspiring nation-builder should avoid the shortcut which temptingly involves downplaying or ignoring the social and cultural ingredients in order to speed up construction. The causal connections between social, cultural, economic-technical, and political change while they may be little explored cannot be ignored. It is, after all, the framework of social studding which will bear the weight of and reinforce political paneling.

POLITICAL PANELING

The phenomenon of political stability or its opposite instability is critical to the developing nation. Political stability is the desired attainment.

Many of the societies in transition between traditional and modern lack the essential elements of stability which Lucian Pye enumerates as a social mechanism and instruments for carrying out public policy.[8] The social mechanism is necessary to relate societal values, attitudes, and desires to the political structure. The implementing instruments, better known as bureaucracies, must be composed of qualified administrators who can efficiently manage the programs adopted by politicians in response to the demands of the social mechanism.

Where serious political disunity and political division is present there is a paucity of inner-nation unity and strength. Governments, then, must expend their efforts, resources, and time in attempts to bring about unity. Economic and social development suffers lack of attention.

Developing nations tend toward political domination by a distinct social, economic, educational group known as the elite. This influential group structure is small and different from the masses of people. Broad-based interest group structures tend not to develop. Where this absence of the voice of diverse interests in developing nations exists those individuals in positions of political leadership do not receive the signs and symbols of communication which reflect the real interests and needs of the masses.

Within developing nations the vagaries of an unsophisticated, marginally educated population, a lack of communications, low caliber public administration, and impatient leadership by a small group of elites frustrate the ultimate Western goal of democracy or a similar form of government for all. Millikan and Blackmer in their book say:

> Our [Western world] biggest problems . . . weak and divided societies. Our goal . . . the growth of states that are strong and effective . . . power . . . increasingly widely shared among groups throughout the society. Dictatorships . . . provide no permanent solution to the problem of national unity. . . . Governments that can not muster the support of the major groups in

> a society and begin to satisfy their physical and psychological needs . . . will . . . be insecure and liable to violent overthrow. The heart of the problem . . . is that the people . . . not merely their governments must acquire a sense of responsibility for and sharing in the process of political as well as social modernization.[9]

In fact most developing nations today are neither democratic nor communist. Most likely their progress toward modernization has not gone far enough for them to make the choice. There are a number of kinds of political regimes in the undeveloped and developed world today, classified by Rustow as follows:

1. Traditional
2. Modernizing
   a. Personal (Charismatic)
   b. Military
   c. Single Party (Authoritarian)
3. Modern
   a. Democratic
   b. Totalitarian

He caveats this sixfold scheme for the orderly grouping of governments by reminding that they are classified based on empirical data, that there are combinations possible among the forms and finally that regimes can change their character over time.[10]

For the leader or leaders of developing nations the form of political institution adopted is not nearly as important as the substance. Where the holder of that force of change which is political power uses it unwisely or ineffectively or where civilian political institutions are absent, the military may provide the <u>mortar</u>.

MILITARY MORTAR

It is a demonstrable fact that in the current era among developing nations military leadership, the military regime, and the coup d'etat have been dominant characteristics. There is a cause and effect relationship. Why have the military assumed or been pushed into the leadership position in so many of the developing nations?

Daalder in his paper on the role of the military in the emerging countries puts forward four propositions which he believes provide the reasons. He sees the military as one of the earliest Westernized institutions in traditional societies. He views the military career as a means of social advance for groups which without this opportunity would occupy an inferior status. He stresses the fact that typically military revolt has emanated not from a completely homogeneous military force but from special strata within the military profession. Finally and paramountly he states, ". . . the recent military revolts should be explained above all in the light of assumed civilian failures."[11]

What then are the potential roles of the military and of military administration in developing nations?

In an economic sense the military establishment can embrace progress through civic action such as the building of roads, railroads or pipelines. Another contribution can be through civil defense and disaster work as in the very recent case of Nicaragua.

Or the military can act as a transitional source of technical training where ex-soldiers returning to their civilian communities take with them usable skills.

The military is an important agency of socialization. It is a viable force for both social and geographic mobility. Many armies offer extensive programs in the "three R's" as well as social studies, thus contributing to increased literacy.

Politically, the role ranges from military dictatorship through providing the internal and external defense which enables a stable civilian government. As a primary agent of change the military usually possesses the authority, credibility, willpower, organization, and expertise to make change effective in this basically political national role.

Whatever their role the potential military contribution to the nation-building process must be considered by the architect-draftsman as he prepares, reads, interprets, and modifies his national blueprint.

BLUEPRINTS WANTED

Given:

a. Societies in transition with--

b. Political, social, economic problems, personal frustrations and--

c. Desire for progress with a high standard of living yet--

d. Lack of national unity and means for mobilizing and managing a myriad of human and material forces and factors.

Plus:

Leaders who want to help build strong, stable nations systematically, step by step.

Question?

Shouldn't there be enough knowledge, enough expertise, enough practical experience somewhere in the developed world so that a portfolio of model blueprints could be prepared?

Then:

The nation-builder and the people could choose a plan, know its structural components, and begin to build. They could also know where the critical points were, what quantity and quality of materials were necessary and how each building block, carefully put together and bonded, added strength and form resulting in a complete and modern structure.

And:

They could be proud of their house (nation); of the part they played in its construction; of the security and improved living standard it afforded them and of its place in the community (of nations) in which they lived.

Oversimplified? Maybe. Facetious? Not intended.

The answer to the question is that there should be composite theories that the nation-builder could use. There should be

guidance from which he, as the architect and draftsman, could prepare his blueprints.

Lucian Pye probably best describes the situation when he says:

> The problems of transitional societies--the interwoven political, social, and personal frustrations . . . and the task of nation building . . . is . . . one of the critical issues of the times. It is . . . extraordinary that there has not been a plethora of theories, doctrines, and prescriptions offered up for guiding the transitional societies to the goal of modern nationhood. . . . We seem to have neither the theoretical nor the applied knowledge to provide the basis for strategies of nation building.[12]

Perhaps a part of the lack of multi-disciplinary efforts to analyze nation-building and create usable, understandable theory and doctrine is a function of a naive belief among the advanced nations that development can be a natural phenomenon and does not require planning and controlling. To some extent the vacuum is made more complete by lack of interest on the part of the masses not of developing but of developed nations. For most of us it is much easier to say of the efforts of Papua-New Guinea--"Let's mind our own business and let them go their own way"--than it is to be inquiring, concerned, and at least aware of the meaning of nation-building and of the complexities of the process.

Almost as if it were planned to prove the point made earlier in this monograph that the simplicity of the words or phrases, nation-building and developing nations, belies the complexity

and volatility of the process, there has been at least one further development in Papua-New Guinea. The headline in the New York Times of 15 January 1973 unlike its optimistic predecessor three months earlier now shouts for a delay in independence.

"PAPUA LEADER, WORRIED BY STRIFE, CALLS FOR DELAY IN INDEPENDENCE"

And now there is mention of hostile armed villages, tribal unrest, the site of one of the world's largest copper mines, better educated lowlanders and a threat to the stability and unity of Papua-New Guinea.[13] Some of the realism and rhetoric of the times as reflected in these words requires reference to the nation-builders dictionary for complete understanding.

AN ABRIDGED BUILDERS DICTIONARY

To conclude that there is a need for delineation, analysis, and blueprints of the nation-building process is not sufficient. Nor is the total purpose of this monograph satisfied if the complexities and diversities facing the nation-builder are sympathetically recognized but perceived as just to much developmental "gobbledygook" or jargon. It would be rewarding, however, if the reader has at least reached the stage of recognizing the problem and of being either interested or inquisitive enough to want to delve further into the literature.

As a final contribution toward understanding and empathy there follows a lexicon of words and terms pertinent to the nation-builder's

trade. The definitions are drawn from the readings and scannings upon which this monograph is based. They are either summations of common terms used by several writers or direct quotes where terms seemed substantially unique to, or adequately explained by, specific authors. They are for all intents and purposes, taken out of context and not inclusive of all of the lingo--thus the dictionary is abridged. Finally, the arrangement is basically alphabetical and not related to order of importance.

Accultration, process of. If we can embrace the premise that there is some minimum international political and cultural level which new states must accept if they are to survive, then we can understand the need for accultration and the dynamics of this process. The peculiarities and manifestations of this process applicable to each single developing nation are related to the content of their basic traditional cultures and their degree and type of exposure to modern society.

Change, engine of. George C. Lodge in his book by the same title coined this nation-builders phrase to refer to an impersonal totality of ideas, ideologies, attitudes, beliefs, actual or perceived values, and impressions which are articulated by some agent(s) of change (to be defined).

In a monograph prepared at the US Army War College, Colonel Joseph P. Rice, Infantry wrote:

> Some of the more significant impersonal forces of change (positive or negative) are population growth, urbanization, increase of literacy and education, influence of the mass media, religious values and beliefs, nationalism, and political ideologies. . . .[14]

Change, agents of. Agents of the forces for change are the engine drivers. These agents can be an individual, a group, formal or informal organizations, or combinations thereof. For the engine of change called nationalism, they could be any or all of the agents identified as the charismatic leader, armed forces, political party, educated elite, peasants, labor unions, students, etc.

Civic action, military. Through the military organization, with its physical assets, training, skills, and organizational ability, governments of developing nations can extend social, economic, and cultural development programs outside the urban centers and into the countryside. In this manner the government gains trust, sympathy, and credibility as does incidentally the armed force.

Civic action projects which range in magnitude from a single military member teaching the national language in a village school to construction of schools by large military organizations, can be classified as spontaneous or planned activities. Spontaneous activities are normally those taken at a local level by local units or individuals on their own initiative and are generally short range provisions for human

necessity. Planned activities, conversely, are initiated at governmental level, with national resources, are broader in scope and longer range.

Development. In its generic sense this term used at the most general analytical level includes growth in economic, social, and political terms.

Development planning. Development planning refers to the deliberate, rational, continuous efforts of governments in developing nations seeking to directly or indirectly influence those factors which will create the desired change and growth.

One author classifies these strategies into three types in accordance with their emphasis as:

1. Quantitative economic theories which stress investment and savings as the determinants.
2. Qualitative economic theories which emphasize the catalytic roles of certain specific economic activities or sectors.
3. Non-economic theories which emphasize the effects of changes in social values and attitudes, disaffected social classes, or deviant individuals.[15]

No matter how the theories are classified, the complex process of development cannot be accounted for or analyzed except as a partial embodiment of all three.

The development plan, like tactical and strategic plans, must include definition of purpose, available and potential resources, alternatives, formulation of specific programs, and implementation provisions.

Disunity. If a key element of nation-building is a condition of national unity its anathema is disunity. Knowing the causes for the disabling effects of disunity makes possible their elimination or counteraction and the creation of political-cultural tolerance and compatibility.

Disunities can exist in a given territory for a variety of reasons:

1. Traditional pre-colonial hostilities and cultural incompatibilities. . . .

2. Tensions between groups resulting from unevenness in development, acculturation, and the acquisition of modernity.

3. Tensions between the Westernized elite--the nationalists--and the traditionalists and the masses.

4. Differences within the ranks of the Westernized elite.[16]

Disunity or alienation away from the nation-building goals of national unity and a national identity is expressed in many ways by the groups which lack loyalty or attachment to the state. Among the most prevalent methods are emphasis on and perpetuation of existing cultural differences, paramilitary harassment and efforts to achieve separate constitutional rights for the minority.

Education. Literacy, or rather the lack thereof, is a serious consideration in developing nations. Education in both the formal and worldly sense is the road to literacy and the resultant political, economic, and social transformations. Education includes schooling, on-the-job training, extension services, and mass communication. In most developing nations the meager availability of education is overshadowed only by its poor quality. Schools that do exist are characterized by wide variations in standards and curricula; teachers themselves have had little formal training; instructional materials and books are poor; buildings and materials grossly inferior or inadequate.

Elites. The emergence of a leader or innovator group or class typically called the elite is part of development. These individuals usually can and do involve the people in their programs of change and independence and solicit and receive the people's support. They are, if you will, the mediators between traditional influence and modernization or Westernization.

This is not to say, however, that the elite group is faultless, all-knowing or unassailable as they maneuver toward development. The "new" ideas and values they create are not always in the best total interest of the advancement and progress of the country. An example of this is found in those symbolic

investments by elite in class symbols such as statehouses or large international hotels where other needs are greater. It is this type of "development" that is most often criticized, leads to further distance between the elite and the masses, and breeds further social and psychological complications.

Green uprising. Within developing nations undergoing the trials and tribulations of political modernization the center of activity which spawns the growth of the urban elite, the urban middle class and instability, is the city. The reasons for this are numerous and are part of the overall political, economic, and social "shakedown" as the modernization process proceeds. At some point in the process, political stability requires rebirth and reinforcement. It is then that an alliance between the city dweller and his country cousins must occur if the impetus of modernization is to be sustained.

This rural mobilization into politics, political consciousness, and political action has been termed the "green uprising."

The uprising occurs slowly or rapidly depending on circumstances in each developing nation. It usually takes one of four forms which Huntington describes:

> In a colonial society the Green Uprising may occur under the auspices of the nationalist intellectuals who . . . mobilize peasant groups into politics . . . to support them in their struggles with the imperial power.

> In a competitive party system the Green Uprising often takes the form of one segment of the urban elite developing an appeal to or making an alliance with the crucial rural voters and mobilizing them into politics so as to overwhelm at the polls the more narrowly urban-based parties.
>
> . . . the Green Uprising may take place, in part at least, under military leadership, if . . . a rural-oriented military junta comes to power.
>
> Finally, if no group within the political system takes the lead . . . some group of urban intellectuals may mobilize and organize them into politics against the political system. This results in revolution.[17]

This uprising affecting changes in the urban-rural power and stability quotient need not be revolutionary or destructive to the modernization process. Its effect is dependent upon the target of the uprising and the framework within which it takes place.

Hungry nation. Paul and William Paddock present a fascinating, forthright, common sense appraisal of the basic cause of "backwardness" as it characterizes the developing nation. Hungry nation is their semantic for what this monograph calls developing nation. The forces and factors creating the hunger are the same. What makes their book different and worth specific coverage is their simply put, if not simply implemented, hypotheses or guidelines for traveling the road from hunger and the discomfort that accompanies it to the satisfying, comfortable, "full not hungry" condition of

development. Some of their guidelines with a short explanation of each where necessary are as follows:

Guideline 1 - Don't wait for political stability. Political stability in and of itself is not the magic nutrient which will feed hungry mouths but may evolve from economic well-being.

Guideline 2 - Face up to reality. For the nation-builder possibly the first problem he faces is the true assessment of the materials from which he must build.

Guideline 3 - Create a Minister of Resources. This individual as the innovator of economic well-being must be a trained specialist cognizant not only of how to modernize but also of how to communicate and coordinate.

Guideline 4 - Don't waste time making surveys.

Guideline 5 - List your resource problems. Just knowing what and where problems exist goes a long way toward their ultimate investigation and solution.

Guideline 6 - Face up to a time lag of several decades. Be sure the eager hungry masses understand and accept that a developed nation is not built overnight.

Guideline 7 - Develop your Resources Develop your Resources Develop your Resources.

Guideline 8 - Set up a productive land utilization program. This is not necessarily land reform. Whatever is required, the goal is maximum productivity no matter what form land ownership and working of land takes.

Guideline 9 - To industrialize, begin with a little acorn.

Guideline 11 - Cut out nonessentials.

Guideline 13 - Cut the nonsense out of education. While education is necessary to nation-building it can be over-done. The task here is to provide the balance of primary, secondary, and adult education which is absolutely necessary initially.

Guideline 15 - Put the military in their place. Although it may sound harsh what is meant here is not that a military establishment does not contribute to nation-building. Rather, the plea here is for a military structure based on need not on show.

Guidelines 17 and 18 - Forget foreign help. About that foreign aid, be canny. Combining two guidelines which seem to be dichotomous the authors are saying:

1. Don't rely on foreign aid as building materials since the foundation of resource development must be the nations.
2. Don't, however, turn down foreign assistance which can enhance development. Just don't sell your soul for it.

Guideline 20 - Cease aping the fashion of US Main Street. It is not necessary or desirable to be a carbon copy of some advanced country in order to obtain the status of

developed nationhood. Don't waste valuable resources on the outside trappings which are better utilized in providing the underclothing necessary for protection and comfort.

Guideline 22 - The intellectuals must get with it. A good source of nation-building and innovation can be a cohesive, aware, motivated, and sacrificing intellectual elite.

Guideline 24 - Be ready to limit population when science finds the way. The population explosion in most developing (hungry) nations easily erases any agricultural production increases.[18]

Imperial System. Often, because of the complexities of development, the smaller and poorer states find themselves having to postpone complete independence and accept some measure of reliance on a single, large, economically strong, highly industrialized country. When this occurs, whether by evolution from colonialism or by penetration as a result of "aid," the result is termed imperialism. When several of these countries are dependent in this way and are operated in common because of their similar needs and development possibilities the descriptive term is an imperial system. This is not a popular term.

Included as possible links in the system are such arrangements as:

1. Tied currencies.
2. Protective tarriff or import quotas.

3. Guaranteed markets.

4. Planned development and training efforts by the private economy sector of the "imperial" country.

Industrialization. As opposed to development, which is the more general term, industrialization implies a more specialized process in which the emphasis is placed on expansion of productive economic segments. Industrialization in its final form includes many of the elements of economic modernization.

Innovation. A large part of the process of developing a nation has its basis in the adaptation and communication of modern techniques; cultural, social, political, and economic, to some segment of the population. These are the innovations spoken of here. An innovation according to Webster's New World Dictionary is: "something newly introduced; new method, custom, device, etc.; change in the way of doing things."

Hoselitz further defines innovation as it applies to developing nations in an article entitled, "Problems of Adapting and Communicating Modern Techniques to Less Developed Areas." He sees innovation as a function of threes.

Three criteria by which innovation may be classified:

1. The field of social action in which the innovation is predominantly located.

2. The degree of change called forth by the innovation.

3. The group of primary participants in the innovation.

Three classifications within the primary field of social action for the innovation:

1. In the area of productive activity.
2. In the field of government.
3. In the field of social welfare.

Three types of innovations considering the primary participant group:

1. Those that call for cooperation on a mass basis--new seed, fertilizer, or basic tools.
2. Those which require the action of several individuals among whom selection is possible so that only the most effective carriers of innovation can be chosen--power driven machinery in place of hand tools.
3. Those which are addressed to a very limited number of individuals usually in central administrative or government positions--creation of a modern factory in a region inhabited by peasants or primitives.[19]

Innovation in transitional society is a complex form of acculturation which can and often does result in serious social, economic and political stress and strain. No matter how obvious the need for the new method, custom, or device the nation-builder must be aware of the pitfalls and of the methods for bridging them.

Institutions: Institution and structure are used interchangeably. . . . Both . . . mean organizations, arrangements, relationships, and practices of an established nature, having political, economic or social purposes and accepted as legitimate by the preponderant number of people affected or concerned.[20]

Institution-building. Institution-building is . . . the conscious, deliberate, or studied attempt to build new or to evolve existing institutions or structures in the given context to meet new or redefined needs.[21]

Insurgency. When the nation-builder cannot or will not satisfy the aspirations of a population segment the basis, if not the trigger, for revolution or insurgency is created. Insurgency is an advanced form of dissent. The purpose of an insurgency is to force desired social, political, or economic change.

Language. For the developing nation to have a single established, common language spoken by all is the ideal. This language should be adapted or adaptable to technological usage. A national language permits a sense of unity, administrative communication ease, and efficient and effective education.

Where a common language does not exist the process of change is most difficult since the proliferation of native tongues will have deep religious and historical roots.

A national language and nationwide teaching and mastery of it becomes essential to insure equality of opportunity as well as economic and social mobility.

Manpower. Manpower as used in this definition is restricted to that which is mandatory in order to provide qualitative and quantitative fill to the associations which are a familiar part of the developed world and are required if self-government is to be achieved in developing nations. A few examples of these associations are business firms, hospitals, schools, and universities and government.

The basic manpower requirement is that there be skilled people available or trained to occupy the building block positions in these associations. Without competent people who can perform the executive, administrative, clerical, professional, and other specialized functions modern-state status is impossible. Even with these people, however, nation-building while it achieves improved possibility is not automatic.

Modernization. Lucian Pye defines the word as "the process of profound social change in which tradition-bound villages or tribal-based societies are compelled to react to the pressures and demands of the modern, industrialized, and urban-centered world." His definition then is inclusive of Westernization and advancement as we in the United States perceive it. Pye goes on to say that modernization is the diffusion into the developing nations of a world culture--

> a world culture based on advanced technology, and the spirit of science, a rational view of life, a secular approach to social relations, a feeling for justice in public affairs, and above all else, the acceptance in the political realm of the belief that the prime unit of the policy should be the nation-state.[22]

To Rustow modernization is a transformation of the relationships of man to time, to nature, and to his fellowman. It is a comprehensive term and includes many specific changes such as industrialization and bureaucratization.

> Like any other historical concept, modernization must reconcile the precision of abstract logic with the fluidity of human and social phenomena. Modernity has been defined as a phenomena of potential universality, a cluster of attitudes that might be developed or adopted in any society.

Further, Rustow sees modernization as a continuing process and one that proceeds by degrees and stages, but not uniformly, in society. As a process that proceeds by degrees and stages it allows room for coexisting elements of both the traditional or tribal and modern. As a continuing process it is never quite complete for any society.[23]

Nation. This term in its most recent usage describes the community of people who, by virture of birth or residence within the boundaries of a state, owe and give greater allegiance to the state than they do to the diverse ethnic, religious, political, or other competing groups to which they belong. The entity classified as a nation possesses some characteristics distinguishable from every other nation. There is consciousness and acceptance of this fact at least within the nation and usually internationally.

Nationality. To be of particular nationality is to have a special attachment or distinctive bond to a specific nation-state. In this nation-state you have certain special and inalienable rights and to this nation-state you are obligated for the performance of specific duties. One of these duties normally involves military or other service to insure the nation's survival.

Nationality, then, is a condition possessed by the human being relative to the nation-state and represents a grouping different from any other. The meaning of the term does not

rest upon or require similarity of race or geographic boundary.

Nationalism. Nationalism is the consciousness of being a member of a separate nation. According to Shafer:

> Nationalism is what the nationalists have made it; it is not a neat fixed concept but a varying combination of beliefs and conditions. It may be in part founded on myth but myths like other errors have a way of perpetuating themselves and of becoming not true but real. The fact is that myth and actuality and truth and error are inextricably mixed in modern nationalism. The only reasonable way to get at nationalism is to determine what beliefs--however true or false--and what conditions--however misinterpreted are commonly present.

The ten general conditions which Shafer sees as necessary to nationalism are:

1. Defined unit of territory.
2. Common culture--such as language, customs, manners, and literature.
3. Common dominant social and economic institutions.
4. A common independent or sovereign government of any type or the desire for one.
5. A belief in a common history and origin even if invented.
6. A love or esteem for fellow nationals.
7. A devotion to the entity called the nation which embodies the common territory, culture, social, and economic institutions, government and the fellow nationals and which is at the same time greater than their sum.

8. A common pride in the achievements of this nation and a common sorrow in its tragedies.

9. A disregard for or hostility to other like groups especially if they prevent or seem to threaten the national existence.

10. A hope that the nation will have a great and glorious future and become supreme in some way.

He sees the strength of nationalism as varying in proportion to the strength and presence of these beliefs and conditions.[24]

Political development. If a semantic difficulty exists anywhere in the study of the problems of developing nations, it is probably most prevalent in the ambiguous and imprecise attempts to define political development.

Lucian Pye in Aspects of Political Development writes of the diversity of definition of political development and enumerates at least ten views or definitions of political development as:

1. The political prerequisite of economic development.
2. The politics typical of industrial societies.
3. Political modernization.
4. The operation of a nation-state.
5. Administrative and legal development.
6. Mass mobilization and participation.
7. The building of democracy.
8. Stability and orderly change.

9. Mobilization and power.

10. One aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change.[25]

In one writer's view political development means the growth of institutions and practices that allow a political system to deal with its own fundamental problems with greater effectiveness for the short run while working toward more responsiveness of the regime to popular demands for the longer run. Every country must find its own combination of authority and inhibition of power appropriate to its tradition and present needs.

Success requires performance of these minimum functions:

1. Provide public order.

2. Provide essential public services.

3. Provide for common defense and international relations.

4. Have means for resolving conflicts over public purpose.

5. Provide channels for public demand expression and discontent.

6. Provide orderly replacement procedures for rulers which bestow legitimacy on their successors.

7. Meld diversities so as to consolidate national unity.

8. Provide a sense of being recognized in the world.

9. Assure savings are accumulated and resources allocated so that more of the world's goods will be available tomorrow without unduly depriving the men and women of today.[26]

Political party. The political party is an institutional phenomenon common to modernizing political systems. Its purpose is to organize and foster mass participation in politics. A prerequisite to stability in developing nations is at least one highly institutionalized political party to serve as a link between society and government.

Political regimes (leadership). Rustow's categorization of three types of political regimes in developing nations which was previously mentioned deserves further definition. The three types were personal or charismatic, military, and single party or authoritarian.

Charismatic

Charisma is an inspired gift, grace or talent. Rusow uses Max Weber's definition and draws the corollary between the possession of the personal characteristic and its use as a political leadership tool as follows:

> . . . The term 'charisma' shall be understood to refer to an extraordinary quality of a person regardless of whether this quality is actual, alleged, or presumed. 'Charismatic authority,' hence shall refer to a rule over men . . . to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person. . . . The legitimacy of charismatic rule . . . rests upon the belief in magical powers, revelations, and hero worship.[27]

Charismatic leadership is not the exclusive property of developing nations, many developed nations have had charismatic leaders. These leaders do, however, appear often in developing nations because of the circumstances of time compression, interwined foreign and deomestic problems, change of political attitudes, pre- and post-colonial, and the need for empathy.

Charismatic authority and the charismatic leader in developing nations seem for a combination of reasons, some of which have been stated, to enjoy legitimacy so long as they achieve people's needs and satisfy their aspirations. These regimes are however unstable because of the continuing requirement levied against pure charisma.

The problems of charismatic leadership summed in two words by Rustow are success and succession.

> A charismatic leader whose appeal remains purely personal and magical and who, with great good fortune sails from success to success in his lifetime will inexorably founder on the succession problem. An acute succession crisis can be avoided only if well in advance of his death he has encouraged a complex and comprehensive organization, a set of structured institutions, perhaps a formalized ideology. . . . Charisma must achieve the final success by transforming itself into something more stable and less miraculous. . . .[28]

Military

The very factors which create problems for the civilian nation-builder make it easy to justify military takeover or coup. That is to say that in developing nations the prevalance of weak civilian government fosters military interference.

One of the most pronounced vulnerabilities of weak civilian governments in developing nations can be their reliance on the military forces to maintain themselves in power. The reason for this is of course the lack of popular support which accompanies the absence of unity and national identity among the masses, poor communications, and non-satisfaction of needs and aspirations. Reliance on the military requires increased involvement on their part in the day-to-day domestic affairs of the nation. The weak civilian government then literally pushes the military toward take-over.

Whether the coup will be bloody as some are or bloodless which, fortunately, is often the case, does not bear discussion here. Nor do the initial outward manifestations of takeover such as the communique, temporary martial law, controlled communication media, and the like. Our interest in the context of nation-building is focused on the possible outcomes. Rustow sees five:

(1) At one <u>extreme</u> the soldiers may retain power for a minimum of time, quickly returning to their barracks and restoring the government to civilian hands.

(2) At the <u>opposite extreme</u> the soldiers may stay in power permanently, inaugurating a stable military oligarchy. Among the <u>intermediate possibilities</u> there are those--

(3) of a series of military coups leading to a condition best characterized as praetorianism,--

(4) of a prolonged twilight situation between civilian and military rule, and --

(5) of a social and political revolution under military aegis which by removing the conditions that led to the coup, establishes civil government on a new and more secure basis.[29]

The military regime, like the charismatic one is unstable. Force alone without results, like personal charismatic appeal without successes, is not sufficient for continued legitimacy. The military regime, similarly, cannot carry on indefinitely in its original form. A survey of developing nations would show great flexibility and shifts among the three types but in no particular sequence.

Single Party (Authoritarian)

The last of the typical political forms of developing nations has its basis in the socio-political phenomenon known as the political party.

Defined by Von der Mehden in his book, Politics of the Developing Nations a party is:

> . . . an organized group which seeks the control of the personnel and policies of government--a group that pays at least lip service to a principle or a set of principles, including the electoral process. The elections may not be fair, nor may there be a meaningful choice offered at the polls.

Of the one-party state he says it is one in which none but the one party holds legislative or executive positions. The party and the state are closely aligned and work together for mutual benefit which helps unify and stabilize the nation. The party is a nationalizing force and normally engages in both communication and propogandizing for the government. With a continual emphasis on unity and loyalty the national party, as the one-party system is called, is the most stable political force and regime style in developing nations.[30]

Praetorianism. In its most restrictive sense, praetorianism is a term used to describe the intervention of the military in the politics of a developing nation. In a larger and perhaps more meaningful sense Huntington uses the term praetorian society to refer to the political society. This broader definition covers intervention not only by the military but also by other societal forces as well. In this way explanation for the intervention (as opposed to participation) of such politicized groups as students, clergy, entrepreneurs, or soldiers in the absence of or weakness of effective political institutions can be related. The reasons for being of a praetorian society are the mentioned incapabilities on the part of existing institutions to serve as mediators, refiners, or moderators for resolving conflicts among specialized social forces.

Population explosion. The enormous growth of their populations, disproportionate with growth of the economy and agriculture, may be the most insoluble problem facing the government and societies of developing nations. Famine is a possibility. Malnutrition is a fact. The result is that the population becomes physically underequipped to meet the rigorous challenge of a changed and more complex life.

In addition to food, the increased population magnifies the need for housing, schools, doctors, and other human necessities which are already problems for developing nations.

Historically, the reason for the growth rate of population in developing nations (and developed) is a combination of death, birth, and techology. The major factor is the decline of the death rate due to progress in medicine, environmental hygiene, and improved living standards. In the developing nations an already high birth rate and the rapid decline of the death rate equals overpopulation and the magnification of the problems of development.

The burning questions are: Birth control or not? Public health programs or not? Paul and William Paddock argue against public health programs and summarize the problem masterfully as follows:

> Who is there to argue against health for the sick? . . . against life for the newborn babe . . .? Who is there to say no to the foreign aid officials who bearing free money, pressure the acceptance of gifts of hospitals . . . DDT sprays?

> This someone must be the Minister of Resources. Somehow he must, with the support of the President and the intellectuals convince the nation that money must not be diverted into public health programs. There is not enough food to feed the rush of new mouths that will result . . . no matter how successful the overall agricultural development program may be.[31]

In favor of public health is the argument pushing the advantage of increased productive output because of improved health.

Revolution of Rising Expectations. The term applied to the developing nations as they strive to achieve improved standards of living. The aspiration for "have" status by the populations of "have not" nations faced with the obstacles of technology, rapid population growth, a limited economic base and disunity promotes frustration and the impetus for disruption of the nation-building process. Achieved modernization is seen as the prophylaxis against violent revolution.

Society, traditional. A social system characterized as non-literate, small-scale, low-level technology, non-scientific, homogeneous, custom-bound, and dependent on a subsistence economy. Its members resist change and innovation, regard their duties and statuses as given and personal, share feast and famine according to the whims of nature since they have little or no control over the forces of nature. They see human life and nature as an organic, interrelated whole which they imbue with sacred meaning.

Society transitional. A social system in the process of change; of moving from the traditional to the modern. The members of this type of society include traditionally oriented people some of whom (an elite) have chosen to pursue the modernization process. In the transitional society this modernizing segment creates a breakdown in the traditional social, political, and economic institutions. New modern institutions are normally not fully structured for immediate replacement of the old. Thus, transitional societies often are characterized by political disorder, unrest, and social upheaval.

Society, modern. The result of change from traditional through transitional (normally) to a social system characterized as literate, large scale, heterogeneous, progressive (changing), mobile, technologically oriented, scientific, and productive. Change is sought by this society's members in the name of progress.

Sovereignty. This word, usually used in two senses, can have descriptive meaning pertinent to the status of a nation-state in the international community or the status of ultimate political authority within the nation-state.

In its broad international sense it means that the nation-state is free and independent with recognized national boundaries and acceptance by the world community. Membership in the United Nations, at least for the newer nations, is symbolic of this status.

Technological gap. The technological gap, ever-widening, which exists between the more advanced and the developing nations of the world is a function of several causative factors. First, the most plentiful commodities in the less-developed economies are raw materials and a large but unskilled labor force. Neither of these are catalysts for advancing technology. What the developing nations need is the equipment and the trained personnel to operate and manage it. How are they to obtain and maintain it? Give-away programs have proved unsuccessful because of the connotations of neo-colonialism, imperialism, and the like.

Third World. In his book, Horowitz characterizes the Third World as "non-American [and also non-Soviet], ex-colonial, and thoroughly dedicated to becoming industrialized, whatever the economic cost." He distinguishes this Third World, in a way in which most other authors fail to do, from another and distinctive Fourth World. The Fourth World he sees as an undeveloped world of tribal societies as yet unconscious of the fact of their undevelopment and of alternative ways of life. He presents no examples of this concept. The Third World countries in his words have, "a concept of emergence and characterize themselves as being developed socially and culturally and of being underdeveloped economically and technically."

A condensed, cryptic, yet descriptive list of the economic, social, political, educational, and military characteristics of the Third World as it appears to Horowitz is:

Agriculturalized

Transitional

Varied national economic systems

Hold no dependencies (colonies).

Industrial potential not fully mobilized.

Lack world market influence and control.

Formal political systems republican in character.

Real political systems authoritarian and uni-party.

Ethnic or religious differences are important.

Minimal education prior to political independence.

Impeded by geographic, demographic, and ecological factors.

Military and military elite a relevant nation-building force.[32]

Transitionals. Transitional societies have been defined as those in which political disorder, unrest, and upheaval exist as conditions. They are a hodge-podge of heterogenity and disequilibrium. In the majority in transitional societies is the individual who fits well in neither the traditional nor modern world, whose expectations and demands are increasingly those of the modern world but whose skills and attitudes remain conditioned by the traditional. This individual beset by the uncertainties of the changing environment is in literature embodied as "the transitional."

In a very fundamental sense, the preceding final entry in this author's abridged dictionary, because it potentially defines the most volatile yet most viable force in a developing nation--the individual, is meant to serve two purposes. First, it is an end, a termination, of an attempt to illustrate and hopefully overcome some of the impenetrable "semantic jungle." Secondly, it is a beginning, a foundation, upon which some understanding of, appreciation for, and solution of the complex problems of the nation-builder can be based.

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FOOTNOTES

1. "Nationalism Sweeps New Guinea as It Severs Colonial Ties," The Patriot (Harrisburg, Pa.), 14 September 1972, p. 35.

2. Lyle W. Shannon, Underdeveloped Areas; A Book of Reading and Research, p. 1. Underlining added to emphasize the interchanging use of terms.

3. Fred R. Von der Mehden, Politics of the Developing Nations, pp. 1-2. Underlining added for same reason.

4. Barbara Ward, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations, pp. 15-23.

5. John B. McKinney. "Pattern of Independence," Military Review, September 1970, p. 32.

6. Fred R. Von der Mehden uses this definitional approach (and others) in his book, Politics of the Developing Nations, p. 5.

7. Robin Hallett, People and Problems in West Africa; An Introduction to the Problems of Development, pp. 38-39.

8. Lucian W. Pye, "Democracy, Modernization and Nation Building," in Self-Government in Modernizing Nations, ed. by Roland J. Pennock, p. 19.

9. Max F. Millikan and Donald M. Blackmer, eds. The Emerging Nations, p. 78.

10. Dankwart A. Rustow, A World of Nations; Problems of Political Modernization, p. 148.

11. Hans Daalder, The Role of the Military in the Emerging Countries, pp. 13-15.

12. Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity, p. 6.

13. "Papua Leader, Worried by Strife, Calls for Delay in Independence," New York Times, 15 January 1973, p. 2.

14. Joseph P. Rice, Latin American: Change and Security Assistance, p. 5.

15. Robert E. Asher, et al., Development of the Emerging Countries; An Agenda for Research, p. 48-49.

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17. Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, p. 75.

18. William Paddock and Paul Paddock, Hungry Nations, pp. 57-98.

19. Bert Hoselitz, "Problems of Adapting and Communicating Modern Techniques to Less Developed Areas," in Underdeveloped Areas; A Book of Readings and Research, by Lyle W. Shannon, pp. 400-403.

20. Arnold Rivkin, ed., Nations By Design, pp. 1-2.

21. Ibid., p. 2.

22. Lucian W. Pye, "The Political Context of National Development," in Development Administration: Concept and Problems, ed. by Irving Swerdlow, p. 26.

23. Rustow, pp. 3-18.

24. Boyd C. Shafer, "Toward a Definition of Nationalism," in Nationalism and International Progress, ed. by Urban G. Whitaker, pp. 4-5.

25. Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development, pp. 33-44.

26. Robert E. Asher, et al., p. 183.

27. Rustow, pp. 149-150.

28. Ibid., p. 168

29. Ibid., p. 190.

30. Von der Mehden, pp. 49-55.

31. William Paddock and Paul Paddock, p. 131.

32. Irving Louis Horowitz, Three Worlds of Development, pp. 19-36.

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